

## Message Text

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44

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

IO-11 AID-05 EB-07 OMB-01 SAM-01 ARA-06 /112 W

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O R 171354Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2645

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

USLO PEKING

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0114

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR AO ZA

SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN PLAYBACK ON OAU SUMMIT MEETING

1. SUMMARY. IN TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA AT STATE HOUSE SATURDAY JAN 17, HE PROVIDED SOME INTERESTING DETAILS ON COUNTRY POSITIONS HELD AT OAU EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT AT ADDIS WHICH REFLECT CLOSE AND CONTINUING COLLABORATION ON ANGOLA BETWEEN ZAMBIA AND SENEGAL, ZAIRE, IVORY COAST, CAMEROON AND EGYPT, BUT SHOW UP NEW STRAINS ON ZAMBIAN RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. HE SUGGESTED MAURITIUS, GHANA, LIBYA AND SUDAN MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO ADOPT MORE CONCILIATORY POSITION. UGANDA'S AMIN HELPFUL TO MODERATES. CHINESE POLICY PARALLELS ZAMBIA'S. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA IDENTIFIED MAIN PRO-MPLA COUNTRIES AS SOMALIA, ALGERIA, TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, NIGERIA, GHANA, GUINEA, BENIN (DAHOMEY) AND CONGO BRAZZAVILLE. DID THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE DISAPPOINT THE ZAMBIANS, I ASKED. CHONA WAS RELUCTANT TO BE TOO OPEN IN TALKING ABOUT PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND MACHEL AND TWICE DUCKED INVITATIONS TO EXPLAIN RESULTS OF POST-SUMMIT DAR MEETING AMONG FOUR PRESIDENTS. FINALLY CHONA SAID THERE WAS AGREEMENT BETWEEN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA THAT ANGOLAN PROBLEM WILL END BUT THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL NOT END.

3. WHAT SURPRISED ZAMBIANS MOST ABOUT TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE BEHAVIOR AT SUMMIT, CHONA EXPLAINED, WAS THE STRENGTH OF THEIR LANGUAGE WHICH ZAMBIANS FELT "WENT TOO FAR". CHONA ESPECIALLY CRITICAL OF MACHEL'S "MAIDEN SPEECH", HEAVY AS IT WAS WITH RADICAL LANGUAGE TO APPEAL TO AFRICAN AND OTHER THIRD WORLD PROGRESSIVES. FOR EXAMPLE, MACHEL WENT TO EXCESS IN ASSOCIATING MPLA WITH SWAPO SO MUCH SO THAT REPS OF SWAPO AT ADDIS WERE EMBARRASSED AND SAID SO TO MACHEL. ZAMBIANS CAN ATTEST THAT SWAPO IS NOT A SOVIET PAWN ALTHOUGH SAM NUJOMA, WHO GOES WITH THE WIND, COULD BE, CHONA THOUGHT.

4. AS FOR ETHIOPIA, IT RECOGNIZED MPLA, ZAMBIANS DISCOVERED, BECAUSE ETHIOPIA HAS CERTAIN AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS GOING WITH TANZANIA; ALSO IT SEEMS PRES NYERERE

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MAY BE OFFERING MEDIATION OFFICES TO SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA IN THE ERITREAN DISPUTE. THESE, CHONA THOUGHT, WERE MORE PERSUASIVE FACTORS IN ETHIOPIA'S DECISION TO RECOGNIZE MPLA THAN ANYTHING ELSE.

5. CERTAIN COUNTRIES, SUCH AS MAURITIUS AND LIBYA, WHICH WERE PRO-MPLA, DID NOT REPORT NOT OPPOSE A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, WHICH CHONA THOUGHT SIGNIFICANT. AMONG THOSE PRO-MPLA

STATES WHICH MIGHT BE SUSCEPTIBLE OF PERSUASION TO MAKE THEIR POSITION ON ANGOLA MORE CONCILIATORY ARE MAURITIUS, GHANA, LIBYA AND SUDAN. CHONA SUGGESTED EGYPT, WHICH WAS SO HELPFUL TO MODERATES AT OAU SUMMIT, COULD, IF RELATIONS ARE FAVORABLE, WORK ON SUDAN. CHONA ALSO SUGGESTED "LOOKING AT MAURITIUS WITH CARE" AS IT WILL BE THE NEXT CHAIRMAN OF OAU, WHICH PERHAPS EXPLAINED ITS RECOGNITION OF MPLA. IT WANTED TO BE AMONG THE FLOCK OF PROGRESSIVES. BENIN (DAHOMY) WAS A CONUNDRUM TO ZAMBIANS BECAUSE ITS REP WAS SO CATEGORIC AND INSULTING IN HIS RHETORIC. ZAMBIANS WONDERED IF HE TRULY REFLECTED VIEWS OF HIS PRESIDENT.

6. ZAMBIANS WERE HIGHLY LAUDATORY OF FIELD MARSHAL IDI AMIN WHO WAS HELPFUL TO CAUSE OF AFRICAN MODERATES THROUGHOUT SUMMIT, AND HELD TENACIOUSLY TO CHAIRMANSHIP WITHOUT ALLOWING VICE PRESIDENT TO TAKE OVER. CHONA HOPES KINSHASA CAN BE PERSUADED TO CONTINUE USE ITS GOOD OFFICES TO KEEP AMIN ON TRACK AND WORKING FOR THE MODERATES' CAUSE. SAID AMIN SHOULD BE REGARDED AS "GOOD VALUE" EVEN AFTER HE HANDS OVER CHAIRMANSHIP TO MAURITIUS. AMIN SHOWED HE UNDERSTOOD ISSUES, ESPECIALLY TECHNICAL AND LEGAL ONES SUCH AS EARLIER KAMPALA DECISION BASED ON A REPORT OF MILITARY COMMISSION INDICATING OAU SUPPORT FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

7. TO MY QUESTION, CHONA CONFIRMED THAT BOTH SOVIETS AND CUBANS WERE VERY ACTIVE IN LOBBYING AT ADDIS. KAUNDA SNUBBED SOVIET REQUEST FOR A DISCUSSION AT ADDIS, INDICATING HE WAITING FOR REPLY TO HIS DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS ON ANGOLA. CUBANS WERE ALSO REFUSED AUDIENCE AT ADDIS AND TOLD TO SEE ZAMBIANS AT LUSAKA, WHICH THEY DID (LUSAKA'S 86 AND 99).

8. IN CONCLUDING OUR CONVERSATION, I ASKED CHONA WHERE CHINESE  
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STOOD ON ANGOLA. HE SAID ZAMBIANS HAD BEEN IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH CHINESE WHO AGREED RIGHT DOWN THE LINE WITH ZAMBIAN POLICY ON ANGOLA AND WHO HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN ATTACKING SOVIETS. CHONA ADDED THAT CHINESE CHARGE IN LUSAKA (LIN SUNG) WAS EXCEEDINGLY GOOD AND HELPFUL IN DISCHARGING HIS MISSION HERE IN ABSENCE OF AN AMBASSADOR.  
WILKOWSKI

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